3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

173 in large measure they found to be the same as it is now; but the Cayapa did not take possession of the former territory of the Indios Bravos until conditions had first been more or less changed. For instance, while the Indios Bravos had fields of plantains and bananas as do the Cayapa at present, they were not utilized directly by the conquerors, but the roots were dug up and replanted. Similarly all other products of the labor of the Indios Bravos were changed, thus removing any danger to the Cayapa from using them.

[262] In those days also, the sabalo, the fish most prized by the Cayapa, existed only in the main streams of the rivers: it never came into the small esteros as it does now. On going into the country of the Indios Bravos the Cayapa placed near the mouth of each estero a row of palm-wood posts which had the magic power of rising from the ground to their full height during full moon and of sinking into the mud out of sight during the dark of the moon. These posts are said to have had a direct effect on this particular species of fish and on their passing up and down the estero. Some of these posts are said to be found even now at the mouths of certain esteros.

173 There are, of course, no means of fixing the exact
174 date of the migration of the Cayapa either to Pueblo Viejo or to their present location, and their tradition cannot be taken too literally. However, it seems probable that the essential features of the tradition in large measure are based on historical facts.

Whatever the reasons for their move, and whatever

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the means employed to accomplish it, the advantages in this new location over their former mountain habitat resulted in greater ease of agriculture, improved conditions for growing plantains, facility of travel on the river, and proximity to the sea. The change from their former life, which was that of a village community of mountaineers with maize as the staple food, was very considerable. They at present live scattered along the banks of the rivers, each family keeping to itself in large measure, but they still preserve a semblance of their former village life in the three pueblos, Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, each of which is a common meeting place for its particular division of the people.

The provincial and national governments recognize, in a way, the rights of the Indians to full and peaceable possession of their territory, and have endeavored to protect them by enacting laws prohibiting the settlement of other peoples along the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. The enforcement of these laws, however, has been quite another matter, for the negroes, descendants of former slaves of Colombia and Ecuador, in later years have gradually worked their way up the streams until now their houses extend as far as Corriente Grande. Formerly Cayapa houses were found as far down-stream as Borbon, at the confluence of the Cayapas and Santiago rivers, but at present the house farthest down-stream is only a short distance below the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas.

As for the white population of the entire Province of

situated about thirty yards from the river side" (Stevenson 1829:409). Unfortunately, Stevenson's description of Cayapa life was meager, for he was much more interested in the Malába, a group of reputedly wild Indians who lived along the Río San Miguel, a tributary of the Río Cayapas. The Cayapa were as loathe to visit the Malába as Stevenson was eager to do so. After some hesitation, the alcalde, having been promised various gifts, ordered two men to take Stevenson up river. It is of considerable interest to note that the Cayapa chief had sufficient authority to order two of his people to accompany Stevenson into the land of the "savage" Malába. Stevenson reported that the Malába were quite gentle and that they spoke a variant of Quechua, a language spoken throughout the Andes from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia. The Malába no longer exist as an ethnic group; however, this is the term used by the present day Cayapa to designate a group of evil spirits that dwell somewhere in the monte or bush.

It would appear, given the position of the Cayapa near the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas and the Malába at its upper reaches, that the migration of the Cayapa from their ancient Andean homeland as stated in

their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas.

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Reseurco recorded Cayapa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde (Reseurco 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malába had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /ʔuʔlí/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /ʔuʔlí/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /ʔuʔlí/. They left after a dispute with the /ʔuʔlí/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

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